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## II.—DERIVATIVES OF THE ROOT *STHA* IN COMPOSITION.

### II.<sup>1</sup>

SUPERLATIVES IN *-STHO-S* 'STANDING' (See AJPh. XXXI, 409 sq.).

43. I do not propose to rehearse my arguments here further than again to assert their semantic aptness. Skr. *yáj-i-ṣṭhas* (see also § 100) is not ill absolved by the definition 'in-sacris-stans'—of a steady sacrificer—and *nēdi-ṣṭhas* 'proximus' by analysis as *\*na-sd-i* 'subsede' (cf. Av. *asne* 'prope', loc. to Indo-Iran. *ā-zd-na* 'in-sede', v. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2, 816) + *\*stha-s* 'stans'. In Homeric *ἄγχι-στον* the adverbial prius 'prope' demands, almost, if we exercise our common sense (see § 3), that we take *-στον* as a verbal, and in the common turn *ὅθι τ' ἄγχιστον πέλεν αὐτῷ* the translation 'ubi ei prope-stans erat' is perfectly adequate. Its propriety is its proof, and proof enough. What derivation could better suit the ordinal ending *-sthos* than from the verb 'to stand'? And the propriety of the same ending for the superlative (often also ordinal, see AJPh. 31, 404) is, as such things go, proof. The same may be said of the analysis of *πρό-τερος* as *vor-fahrend* (l. c. 408 sq.), and of *pri-or* as 'prae-iens' (ib. 423 sq.). Etymology, derivation, is the condition precedent to all phonetics, to all mor-

<sup>1</sup>See A. J. P. XXXIII 377-400. To § 42 add § 42 a; cf. §§ 6-8. I now explain the frequent deaspiration of *-sthi-* as due to the case forms where *-sthy-* came into being. In Greek, we know, every *y-* became a rough breathing. This means that *y-* was itself aspirated = *hy-* (cf. also the Avestan doublet *yaṭ—hyaṭ*, where *h-* does not, in Bartholomae's opinion, represent *s*, see his Woert., col. 1227). In the group *-sthy-* the aspiration of *t* was given up for the aspiration inherent in the *y*. This perfectly accounts for the preservation of *th* in *apāṣṭhi-hán-*, with invariable *i*, and its reduction to *t* in *dyo' pāṣṭi-s* (see § 62), where *i* varied in the flexion with *y*. It also accounts for the difference in point of aspiration between an apparently abstract stem like *pāniṣṭi-* 'laus' (?) and the superlative (§ 43) *pāni-ṣṭha-s* 'in laude (?) stans'. See also § 100.—E. W. F.

phology, and our morphological explanations of the comparative and superlative have to be made to fit obvious etymologies. So it is with the phonetic laws. They are well used as "receipts for etymologizing", standards of measurement, that is, but they depend on, are secondary to, the etymologies, to which they must be made to conform, and not conversely.

MATERIAL OBJECTS THAT PROJECT: PRONGS, HOOKS,  
BARBS, STICKS, ETC.

44. Pāṇini referred *apaṣṭha-* 'barb-point' (cf. Vedic *apāṣṭhā-s* 'hook') to the root *sthā* (see Wackernagel, ai. Gram. I. § 205 b. anm.) To justify Pāṇini all we need to do is to bring forward Lith. *ākstī-s* 'spit, prong', *ākstinas* = OBulg. *ostinŭ* 'goad', of which the primary sense was 'sharp-standing'.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedic form actually of record we have *apa* 'ab' + *aksthō-s* 'sharp standing' (with *k* [not *ġ*] as in Lithuanian; see further Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *acus*). In the *ṣṭh* of *apa-ṣṭha-* 'exstans' we have a tribute to the Vedic word of record, unless we follow Wackernagel (in which case we must write *ap'-aṣṭha-*) and derive the posterius from *\*ākṭha-*: *āṣṭrā-* 'goad' (l. c. § 202 b.).<sup>2</sup> There is no sound reason, however, to exclude *apa-ṣṭha-s* and *pra-ṣṭha-s* from the group of words that show hyper-lingualism of the root *sthā-* (see Wackernagel, § 205 c. anm.; § 206 b), and Pāṇini is doubtless right as against Wackernagel (§ 206 b. anm.) in the analysis of *āmba-ṣṭha-*, name of a people. The analysis as *amb(h)as-* (*b* as in *ambu-* or by deaspiration?) 'water' + *stha-s* 'habitans' may be

<sup>1</sup>Here cf. the Celtic base *akto-* 'goad' (? from *aksto-* § 12), and Welsh *eithw* for which Stokes-Fick<sup>4</sup> (p. 5) write a start-form *aktivo-* (i. e. *ak-<s>tivo-*), posterius: Lat. *stiva* (see § 4). The thorny *genesta* bore in OIr. the name *ailtenn*, start-form *ak-<s>tīnā* 'sharp-standing' (see on *-stīnā* § 16).

<sup>2</sup>To refuse to analyze *dṣ-trā* as 'sharp-tool' or 'sharp-borer' is again to shrink from the obvious. Why does the suffix *-tro-* designate tools? Because *-tro-* meant 'tool', and *τέρετρον* 'gimlet' is hardly more than a heavily reduplicated word. I entirely agree with Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *τεῖρα*, that the agent suffix *-tōr-* | *-tēr-* is also a noun derived from the root *ter*, and the mystery of *ū* in Latin words like *nū-tūra*, *cul-tūra* disappears when we note that the root *ter-* 'bore' also had a form *twer-* 'facere', generalized in the large group of Slavic words gathered by Miklosich, Wtbch., p. 366, s. v. *tvorŭ*. For the way in which the future sense developed in the Latin forms in *-tūrus* see Zimmermann in KZ. 42, 305, and cf. Skr. *dātāsmi* literally=*dator sum*, but in usage = *datūrus sum*.

compared with Varro's apparently sound explanations of *Inter-amna* and *Antemnae* (see l. l. 5, 28).

45. With Skr. *apa-ṣṭha*- Lat. *dē-stina* 'prop' may be compared, cf. Lat. *destinare* 'to make fast', usually of record in the sense of 'to lash', but in the last analysis 'to lash' and 'to peg' continually interchange (see TAPA. 41, 34 sq.). One may remind himself of the use of forked branches of trees to fasten logs securely to the ground, for instance. In its vocalism *-stina* is comparable with Lith. *āk-stina-s*. It is curious also that *re-stis* 'stay' (a large rope) admits of so pat a rendering as 'back-stay'. A happy chance preserves in Av. *srvi-slāy-* 'mit hörnern widerhaken' (of an arrow) not only a proof of the root *sthāy-* (§ 5), but a proof of the meaning 'exstans' applied to a 'prong' or 'barb'.<sup>1</sup>

46. With the posterius of Lith. *āk-sti-nas*, Lat. *sti-lus* and *stimulus* also invite identification, and *ungustus* 'fustis uncus'

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae's analysis of *srvi-slāy-* results in the definition 'dem ein horn- (spitzen)-paar als ständer dient' and according to him *srvi* is a dual, a not altogether self-evident type of compound. Perhaps *srvi* is a locative (with *ī*, a quantity Bartholomae demands, Gr. Ir. Ph. § 219, 2 b.) and meant 'in cornu', taking *cornu* as 'bow'. This analysis suggests the derivation of Latin *sagitta* arrow from *\*sagi-sta-*, with dissimilation of the second *s* to *t* (cf. the *ç-sth* dissimilation in the Skr. proper name *açva-tthāman-* = equi-stator, but it is not clear that the banyan tree, *açva-tthā-s*, was the 'horse-stall', see Fay, AJPh. 17, 51). But what is *sagi-*? Possibly = Skr. *\*sa-jya-s*, whence *sajja-s* 'bow' (lit. with bowstring). Then *-gi-* is from *-gwi-* (*gwy*; cf. further examples in Osthoff, IF. 27, 174 sq.), and *sa-* some form cognate with "copulative" *ó-*, i. e. *sagitta* from *\*sogitta* by a change analogous to Wharton's so-called 'law', but dependent on the Latin, not IE. accentuation. Popular etymology may have played a part also, say from *sagmen* 'grass-stalk' or from *sagāx* 'acutus' (sc. mente); cf. also the gloss *sagatio* παλμός = 'vibratio'. In view of Skr. *nī-ṣaṅga-s* 'quiver' (lit. down-hanger), *nī-saṅgīn-* 'sagittarius' the prius *sagi-* may have meant 'quiver'.—A third word for arrow with posterius in *-st-* is *ῥιστός*. Barring the "prosthetic" *ó-*, this might be from *\*isu-st(h)o-s* (prius = Skr. *iṣu-* 'arrow' + tautological *-stho-s* : Lat. *stolo*, e. g. § 49), with haplogenic loss of *-us-*. Schrader's suggestion (Reallex. s. v. Feil) of a poisoned arrow permits of deriving from *\*o-wi(s)-stho-s* = 'cum viro'; cf. Skr. *viṣ-* 'faeces', expanded to *vi(ṣ)-ṣṭhā* : *viṣā-m* 'poison'. For the force of the *o-*, cf. *ó-βριμς* 'violentus' (from 'cum violentia'): *βριμη* 'violentia' (v. Johansson, IF. 3, 239). Brugmann's root-complex *ó-ist-* (see IF. 29, 229 sq.) is justified neither by *óiw* (see § 23) nor *ῥιστός*.—Along with Av. *srvi-slāy-* 'in cornu stans' and Lat. *sagitta* (from *\*sagista*) 'in cornū (in pharetra?) stans' note Goth. *arhw-azna* with prius = (in)arcu- and posterius from *\*o-s(d)-no-s* 'sedens' (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 2, 2, 816, on *δζος* 'twig': Av. *asne* 'prope') or 'twig' (see § 53).

(Festus) contains *ungo-* (or *ungos-*): *ungulus* 'ring' (cognate with *angulus*) + *-sthos* 'stake' (cf. § 49).

#### VEGETAL GROWTHS.

47. Among the commonest projecting objects are vegetal growths and objects made from them. Testimony to the use of the root *sthā* to describe such growths is found in Skr. *sthāvarā-s* with the strong connotation of "vegetabilisch" (PW), cf. Lith. *steverys* 'stem, stalk', *stavaris* 'knot, knob', *statinīs* 'paling'.<sup>1</sup> and further note *στάσις* cited from Aristophanes, Fr. 683, 859, in the sense of τὰ πεφυκότα σπέρματα = Eng. *stand* (of corn, cotton, etc.). Perhaps *σίτος* originally meant 'standing' (grain), and comes from \**σ[τ]ι-τος*, cf. the hendiadys *sege tem*<sup>2</sup> immutasse *statumque* in Lucilius 292. We have already noted above Lat. *stiv-a* 'spoke' (§ 4), *στόμ-τιξ* 'stud'<sup>3</sup> (§ 15), and *postis* (§ 16).

48. *βλά-στη*, *βλα-στός* 'a young sprout, scion'. The prius was *m̃-* 'tener', belonging with the sept of Lat. *mollis*. In the verb *βλα-σάνω* the posterius may represent an original verb in a compound of the *fest-steht* type.

49. Homeric *μά-στι-* 'whip',<sup>4</sup> expanded into *μα-στιγ-*, contains a posterius meaning 'stalk' or perhaps 'stick': *σρίζω*, Lat. *in-stig-at*.<sup>5</sup> True, the *σρίζω*-sept shows no aspiration (see § 7) in Skr. *tējate* 'is sharp', and to clarify the vowel relations we have to write *st(h)ā(y)-g-*, cf. Skr. *sthag-a-ra-m* | *tagara-m* of a pungent perfume. In *sthāgali* 'tegit': *στέγος* 'roof' we have another shade of meaning, arising from the 'studs' that supported the roof. All the notions here involved cluster in a <'pointed> stick'; see further on Lat. *fastigium* Fay, IF. 26, 37<sup>4</sup>. The out-of-Greek cognates of *μά-στι-* comprise the sept of OHG. *mast* = 'stange, flag-staff, spear-shaft'. The prius of composition

<sup>1</sup> These words are extracted from the lexicon of Lalis, as Kurschat is not accessible to me. To them may be added the following which show root determinants, viz.: *stabas* 'post, stake', *stagaras* 'dry stalk, brush wood', *stakta* 'postis', *stambros* 'stalk', *stipinas* 'spoke', *stypline* 'stilt', *stūbris* 'stump', all of which are standing or projecting wooden objects.

<sup>2</sup> Proethnically dissimilated from *stheget*?

<sup>3</sup> The *-ic-* suffix is to be compared with *-i(e)c-* in Lat. *ōb- <j> ēce <m>* (Plautus, Pers. 203) 'barrier', *sub-ic-es* 'supports', see on *ικρια* and Skr. *yaṣṭi-s* § 56. For the vowel color cf. *στοά* 'colonnade' (§ 15), and *στόμα* 'mouth' (§ 66).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Encyc. Brit. 17, 664: "The young shoots <of maple> . . . are employed in France as whips".

<sup>5</sup> Does *castigo* represent *ca[sto]-stigo* 'castum stigando facio'?

was *mad-* or *mat-* 'caedere' (v. Walde<sup>2</sup> s. vv. *malleus*, *mateola*'). Lat. *mālus* 'mast' ('a beam in the wine press') is related—from *mad-* + *-st(ə)lo-s*: *στάλ-ιξ*, *σταλ-ίς* 'stake' (for fishing nets), cf. *στόλος* of 'oars, horns', etc., in Schulze's Qu. Ep., 175 (excerpted by Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v. *στελεῖν*): Lat. *stolo* 'sucker'. [With *μά-στι-* cf. *κνή-στι-* = 'scrape-stick'.]

50. In the plant names *ἄγρω[ς]-στis* (Homer) and *λιμνῆ(σ)-στis* the prius is a (local) genitive (cf. § 79 on *ἀγρώστης* 'agricola') describing the habitat of the plants. In *ἀκοστή*<sup>1</sup> 'barley' and *ἄκαστος* 'acus' (= 'maple tree') the prius belongs with *ak̂/k-* 'sharp'.

51. We have in Latin more general words like *arbu(s)-stum* 'tree-place' (*-stum* = locus standi, cf. Eng. *stand* in § 47), *arbu(s)-sta* (cf. Naevius ap. Non. 323, 7, locos | ingenio arbusta ubi nata sunt, non obsitu) = arbores quae stant,<sup>2</sup> and *robu(s)-stus* 'qui ut robur stat' (but cf. *scelestus*, § 82). The following have a more special character: (a) *arista*, thus described by Varro (r. r. 1, 48, 1): ut acus tenuis longa eminent e gluma, proinde ut grani apex sit gluma et arista. We may fairly define by 'apex' and analyze as *ari-sta* 'tip-standing', identical in its prius with *ἄρι-στος* *ἀρι-στεύς* (§ 81). (b) *genesta*. This plant, called 'humilis' by Virgil (G. 2, 434) may have been named from \**genes-* 'knee'<sup>3</sup> + *sta* 'stans' cf. *knee-holly* of the other broom plant, the

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric hapax *ἀκοστήσας* (Z 506 = O 263) has no cognation with *ἀκοστή*, first of record in Nicander (160 B. C.). The text runs:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτῃν  
δεσμὸν ἀπορήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων

and *ἀκο[ς]-στήσας* means *ἐν δεσμῷ ἐσταώς*, *ἀκος-* referring to the halter whereby the stalled horse was tied. I derive *ἀκος-* from \**nhkos-*: the root *e-nek̂/k̂* in Latin *necto*, etc. (see Fay, TAPA. 42, 31; 43). The root is also represented in *ἐντεσι-εργός* 'in harness working', *ἐντεα* 'harness, trappings', the stem *ἐντεσ-* being from *ἐντεες*, blended from *ἐντεῦ* (cf. Skr. *añṣu-* 'stalk', i. e. 'vītex', see Fay, l. c. p. 52; and note *añṣu-ka-m* 'vestis', from an original sense of 'trappings' = 'ornamenta') and *enkes-*: *nekes-* in Lat. *neces-se* 'in vinculis' (see l. c. p. 47); further note *ἐπάναγκες* which attests the *es-* stem (see on *ἀν-άγκη* = 'in vinculo', l. c. p. 46). For the parallelism of *u-* and *es-* stems cf. *penu-* | *peno-* | *penes-* (§ 79) and Skr. *ambu-* | *ambhas-* 'water' (§ 44), and on *genesta* (§ 51).

<sup>2</sup> Also note the use of *stare* in Titinius 144, fundi *sta bunt* sentibus, Caecilius 219, ager autem *stet* sentibus?, Lucilius 1301, *stat* sentibus fundus.

<sup>3</sup> By the verbal homoeopathy characteristic of Roman medicine (see Fay, KZ. 45, 128<sup>1</sup>) a brew of *genesta* was prescribed for pains in the knees (*genua*), see Pliny, N. H. 24, 66, but that proves nothing save a popular etymology. In the *Pervigilium Veneris* (81) oxen take the shade (lying?) under the *genesta*.

*ruscus* or 'butcher's broom'. We have the *u/es* variation (see also § 50, fn.) in Skr. *cākṣu-/cakṣas-* 'eye', and an extended *-es-* stem in *γεειον* 'beard': *γένυ-s* 'chin'<sup>1</sup> and it seems a little thing to admit it also in Lat. *genes-*: *genu* 'knee', which belongs perhaps with *genu-inus* 'jaw-tooth' (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. vv.).

52. In the Germanic group I note two plant names in *-st-*, viz: Eng. *gorst* 'genesta' and OHG. *gërsta* 'barley'. Both of these come from the root *ḡher-s-* | *gher-s-* 'to be rough; rub' (§ 76) + a posterius from the root *-sthā-* implying 'plant'. In Lat. *hordeum* 'barley' we have a prius *hor(s)-* (from *ghor-s-* or *ghr-s-*) + a posterius *\*dhēyom* 'plant': *fē-lix*, etc. (v. Walde, s. v.). The cognates nearest in meaning are Skr. *dhānyā-m* 'frumentum': [*ākpo-*] *θίνα* 'first fruits', cf. also Lat. *fē-tus* (as in Aen. 6, 141) of vegetal growths (see Fay, TAPA. 41, 25). In *κῤῥι-θή* 'barley' we have a cognate from the parallel root *ghrēy-* (as in *χρῖω*) 'to rub' + *-dh-ā-*, replacing *-dhē(y)*.<sup>2</sup> In view of *fordeum* = *hordeum* the equation of Lat. *frit* with *\*κῤῥι-θ* can hardly be refused, even if Walde<sup>2</sup> does not know how Plautus Most. 595 attests *frit* beyond a peradventure. The use of barleycorns for a least measure of weight (Greece) or of length (England) explains how *frit* = 'particle'. Varro's definition as quasi 'granulum' (r. r. 1, 48, 3) was probably merely *faute de mieux*.

53. Objects made from stoutly grown stalks are found in the following:

(a) Lat. *hasta* 'spear'. If the glossic word *harit* 'strikes' be disallowed (see Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *harena*), no verb form from a root *ghaxs* has yet been identified (on *hostit* see Fay, Class. Quart., I. 28.<sup>3</sup>), and if *hostus* is not rustic for *haustus* I would now derive it from *gho(s)-st(h)o-s* = 'ex-stans', cf. Eng. *output*, of the 'product of an industry'. Skr. *ghasra-s* 'nocens' developed from 'devorans'. The most salient fact about *hasta* is that it appears with *o* in Umbr. *ostatu* 'hastati'. Is this *o* original? Then why *a* in

<sup>1</sup> In *ἀπί-γων*, the quite late name of a kind of spear, *ἀπι-* might mean 'tip' and *-γων* be cognate with *γένυ-s*, of the 'edge' of a fishing-hook or fork.

<sup>2</sup> See in general Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 241 sq. Of the Homeric forms, *κῤῥι-θ-ᾱς* (if with *-ᾱς*) matches the Skr. acc. plur. in *-ās* (post-Vedic, cf. Whitney<sup>2</sup>, § 351), but (*κῤῥι-*)*θέων* (gen. plur.) matches Skr. *rāyām* (stem. *rēy-*). Note that Lat. (*hor-*)*deum* would be a legitimate gen. plur. The neut. sg. *κῤῥι-(θ)* has probably been abstracted from a neut. plur. *\*κῤῥι-θ-α*. The adjective *κῤῥι-θανιάς* (*πυρός*) = barley-like (wheat) has a posterius suspiciously like Skr. *dhānyā-m*.

<sup>3</sup> Accius, *Var.*, 12 has redhostire responsum.

*hasta*? Provisionally let us assume that \**hosta* gave way in Latin to *hasta* by regressive vowel assimilation. A second confirmatory instance of anticipation of *a* I cannot bring.<sup>1</sup> Well, the precise conditions were not liable to arise often, and *costa* 'rib' may have resisted change because *co-* was for *co(n)-* (see § 67). The permanence of *o* in *toga* proves nothing against anticipation in *hasta* where the conditions are different. Accordingly, instead of setting up a root *ghas-/ghos-* 'ferire' for *hasta* and its few cognates (see Walde, s. v. and Stokes-Fick<sup>2</sup>, p. 108, s. v. *gastā* 'schoss, spross, reis'), we come out better by writing a start-form \**gho(s)-slā* 'exstans', cf. Columella, 5, 11, 5, ut <surculi> de arbore exstent. Beside this start-form we must set \**gho(s)-zdo-s* 'twig' whence OIr. *gat* 'Weidenrute, *tris-gataim* (denom.) 'I bore through': Goth. *gazds*,<sup>2</sup> OHG. *gart/cart* 'goad'—whence by borrowing Pict. *cartit* 'Busennadel'. A form parallel with *gho(s)-zdo-* is found in Greek ὄζος from \**o-sdo-s* 'on-sitting' (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. II. 2, 816): Goth. *asts*

<sup>1</sup> Far be it from me to try for precision as to the state of the consciousness, the degree of awareness, that constituted one of the conditions of vowel anticipation, but the phenomenon in speech does not totally differ from the phenomenon in copying out words, where the copyist proceeds by a sort of self-dictation, a thing that palaeographers often fail to recognize. Friedrich (ad Catull. 10, 21, p. 125) has collected a great number of palaeographic instances, and when he speaks of the phenomenon, which he describes in the words "vorgewalt des *a*" as "rein mechanisch", he has certainly not thought things out to a finish. These script examples—granting Friedrich's claims for them (but see Fay, AJPh. 31, 82)—have to be regarded as sporadic manifestations of anticipation due to self-dictation. That in the word *hasta* some special, if undiscoverable, circumstance favored the permanent registration of a sporadic anticipative *a* may be granted, entirely within the lines of the marked trend to general uniformity in the pronunciation of words—which is all that can be said for the (entirely social) uniformity of the phonetic laws. [On *lacio* for *locatio* see Stolz<sup>4</sup>, p. 74].

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean, of course, that in *gazds* -*zd-* continues IE. -*sd-* | -*zd-* but, as the content of this paragraph teaches, I recognize in these words describing the shoots of trees three forms of preposition prius, followed by -*sdo-* 'sedens' or -*stho-* 'stans', viz: *ghos-* and *ogh(s)-* 'ex-' and *o-* quasi 'eni'. Beside \**gho(s)-tho-s* a start-form \**ogh(s)-stho-s* would have yielded \**o(g)zdho-s*, which, affecting \**gho(s)-thos*, would have yielded \**ghozdhos*, whence Goth. *gazds*. Or does *gazds* come, by Verner's law, from \**ghos-thó-s* (note the syllabification), as it is assumed below that Goth. *huzds* comes from \**kus-thó-s* (§ 63)? For the oxytone accentuation cf. Skr. *nīdā-s* 'nest', but \**nī-sdo-s* would be justified by ὄζος (from \**o-sdo-s*). So we have *añgu-ṣṭhā-s* (Vedic) and *añgú-ṣṭha-s* (classic).



from *\*o-stho-s* 'on-standing', parallel with Ir. *gas*. With *\*gho(s)-st(h)ā* and *\*ghos-sdos* 'twig' we may combine *δοσχη* 'twig' from *\*o-ghs- + kē* 'out-lying', cf. *δοσχαρος* 'out-lying' (Fay, TAPA. 41, 50), recognizing *\*oghs*<sup>1</sup> beside *\*ēghs* (see § 12, fn.) as we have *\*epi/\*opi* and *\*ebhi/\*obhi* (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 2. 2, 838; 820).

54. (b) Lat. *fustis* 'cudgel' from *bhū-* (cf. *bhū-d-* in Eng. *beat*, § 26) + *sthi-s*.

55. (c) OHG. *geisala* 'whip'. The start-form was possibly *gais-* (: *χαῖος* 'staff', Skr. *hi-nōti* 'drives')<sup>2</sup> + *s(t)hlo* as in *mālus* 'mast' above (§ 49). OHG. *gisal* 'hostage' belongs with Gallic *-geistlos* (v. Fick-Stokes<sup>4</sup>, 109). Can *-stlo-* here mean 'schössling' and *gei(s)-* (: the sept of Lat. *heres*, v. Walde s. v.) mean quasi 'relictus'? But *relictus stans* (§ 17<sup>2</sup>) might also be ventured.

56. (d) Skr. *yaṣṭi-s*. In TAPA. 42, 27 I derived Av. *yax-šti-š* 'twig' from the root of *iacio*, which appears extended by *s* in Skr. *prayakṣati* 'se proicit (=rushes); consequatur' (cf. *iaculatur*='hits, obtains'). The Indo-Iranian start-form was *yak-st(h)i-s* (k, not *k̂*): Homeric *ἱκρία* (§ 47 fn.) which describes the planking of a ship's deck in general, but *ἱκριον* means 'bohle, pfosten, balken' and *ἱκρία*=gebälk (see Capelle-Seiler, s. v.). As in Eng. *scaffold*, the name describing the supporting studs and braces also includes the platform they supported.

57. (e) Skr. *kā-ṣṭhā-m*. What was a *kāṣṭhām*? The ritual of the ÇBr. 1, 8, 3, 18 directs a process of smoothing with the fingers, and not with the *kāṣṭhām*; 3, 2, 1, 31 forbids a consecrated person to scratch himself with his nail or with a *kāṣṭhām*; 3, 3, 2, 8 forbids throwing away an accidental straw or *kāṣṭhām* found among soma-plants. Further, *kāṣṭhām* is the posterius in composition with *samidh-* 'faggot' and *ṛṇa-* 'grass'. The compound *kāṣṭha-rajju-* shows that the *kā-ṣṭhā-ni* were bound into bundles.

<sup>1</sup> From *oghs-* *δοφύ-ς* 'hip' lets itself be explained as *\*oghs- + pū-*, the posterius cognate with *πῦ-γῆ* and Skr. *pu-tāu* (lexical only; cf. *δοσ-πώτη* of a sheep's clotted buttocks: a root *pōw-*); cf. *prae-pūtium*? In *-pū-* we would have an original sense of quasi 'ruptus'. Cf. ON. *rump* 'steiss', and Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *rubus*.—Apropos of *steiss* Kluge writes the start-form *\*stiw-ot-* and compares Lat. *stiva* (§ 4). Of parts of the body ending in *ot* | *et* we also have Av. *brvat-*: Celtic *\*bruvat-* 'eye-brow' (Stokes-Fick<sup>2</sup>, 187). Skr. *bhasdd* 'hind-parts' may have started as a *t-* stem, but the sandhi forms with *d-* (e. g. before the *-bh-* cases) and in composition would have been generalized by association with *sad-* 'to sit'.

<sup>2</sup> Here *κι-σθος* (*κίστος*), a 'many-branched' (*πολύκλαδος*, cf. § 49) shrub.

The word was used as a measure of length, and also as a 'hohl-mass'. At the beginning of a compound it was an expression of praise. The inference is irresistible that *kā-ṣṭha-m* meant 'culmus' and secondarily 'culmen', and that it is to be derived from *kō(l)-* 'stalk' + *stho-m* (§ 46).

58. (f) Here we may note Lat. *fistula* 'hollow reed, reed-flute; ulcer'. This I derive from \**f[l]i-stula*, with posterius = 'stalk': Lat. *stolo* 'shoot, sucker' (cf. §§ 46, 49). The meaning 'ulcer' shows that the prius belongs in a general way with Lat. *flē-mina* 'swellings' (v. Walde<sup>2</sup> s. v.), cf. φλι-μέλια 'swellings': Norw. *blei-me*. The primitive, \**bhli-stolā* meant 'blow-stalk', but may also have signified 'swell-standing'. In Eng. *bli-ster* (O Dutch *blyster*) the prius would be at least related and *-ster* the result of dissimilation from *-st(h)lo-*, cf. for the sense of *-sthlo-* ἀπό-σσημα 'ulcer'. For the 'exstantia' of sores (eruptions) compare Lucilius 1195, inguen ne *exsistat*, papulae, tama, etc.

#### PARTS OF BODY.

59. Derivatives of *sthā-* 'stare' are particularly common in names of parts of the body. Some of these are collected by Brugmann, IF. 18, 129 sq., as examples of an *-st-* formans (cf. Gr<sup>2</sup>. II. 1, § 479), without proper evaluation of the *sth* of Skr. *aṅgú-ṭha-s* 'thumb'; Av. *aṅgūšta-* 'finger'. I have also studied some of these words in PAOS. 31, p. 412 sq., including the names of two fingers *tri-stho-s*<sup>1</sup> and *ksw-ēks-stho-s* (see §§ 31, 36) and παλα(ι)-στή 'palm', which I now define as *palam-sthā* by discomposition, and that the prius belonged to *palma* 'palm of hand'. The root of *palma* may well have been that of Lat. *pel-lit* 'strikes'—used of the palm as a 'slapper'.

60. The posterius *-sthos* of parts of the body often had its full implication of 'exstans', doubtless, but just as often it may have been attached by congeneric adaptation, to return to Bloomfield's happy phrase in AJPh. 11, p. 2 sq.—as e. g. in Skr. *viṣ-|vi(ṣ)-ṣṭhā-* 'faeces' (§ 45, fn.).

61. Skr. *aṅgú-ṣṭha-s* 'thumb' = 'on hand standing' and *aṅgú-li-s* 'finger' = 'on hand lying' (see AJPh. 31, 416) would be perfectly convincing in their analysis were it not for

<sup>1</sup> On the relation of \**tri-sthi-s* 'third' to *testes* 'testiculi' see Fay, KZ. 43, 156. The *testes* were two members of one of nature's own triads.

*āṅga-m* 'membrum, corpus', which I unhesitatingly connect with MHG. *anke* 'gelenk am fuss', Eng. *ankle*, and with Aeol. *ἄμφην* 'neck'. The original sense was 'joint' and the root was *eneḡh-* | *eng-* 'to bind' (see TAPA. 42, 15). I derive *ἄμφην* 'neck' from *enḡhw-*: Skr. *an̥hū* 'narrow' extended by an *-en-* suffix. For *ἄμφην* I set up a start-form *n̥ḡhw-en-*, with possible anticipation of the *w*<sup>1</sup> as in Thess. *δαύχνα* = *δάφνη* (so, hesitatingly, Buck, Gr. Dial., § 68, 4a), and the same start-form accounts for *αὐχὴν*, *φ* and *χ* being dialectic from *-ḡhw-* before *-on-* forms no longer in existence (cf. Lat. *caro* 'flesh', gen. *car(e)nis*). In Gothic *hals-agga* 'neck' (if not tautological 'neck-joint') the start-form lacked the *w* which we have in *aggwus* 'narrow'. The previous nasal had caused (IE.) deaspiration in Skr. *āṅga-m* 'joint': MHG. *anke* 'ankle'.

62. Before further collecting the materials it will be well to note Skr. *apāṣṭhi-hā(n)-* 'ungui-necans' and in RV. *áyo' pāṣṭi-s* 'aënam ungulam habens' (of the eagle), both belonging with *apāṣṭhā-s* (§ 44) and noteworthy because of the variation of *sth* with *st*. In view of this I shall not think any further notice necessary when we meet with deaspirated *st(h)* in names of parts of the body (cf. §§ 5, 6 [42 a]).

63. In the following group the prius is *ku-*, connected with Lat. *cavus* 'hollow', and the compound means 'hohl-stehend'. Skr. *kú-ṣṭhā* 'neb (i. e. spout) of a basket', *kú-ṣṭha-s* 'Lendenhöhle' (?), cf. the compounds *kañ-ku-ṣṭha-s* 'sort of earth', *kāla-ku-ṣṭha-s* 'sort of earth found on mountains', wherein *-ku-ṣṭha-s* suggests that the earth was gotten by a hole-digging process. In Greek we have, with easy shift of meaning, *κύστις* 'bladder', *κύστη* 'spongy bread', *κύσθος* 'pud. mul.', *κυσθοκορώνη*, glossed by *νύμφη*, which is glossed in turn by *τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ γενείου καὶ τοῦ κάτω χείλους ἐν μέσῳ κοῖλον* (= chin-dimple), but also = *μύτρον* 'κλειτορίς'. We also have in Skr. a *guṇa-* form *kó-ṣṭha-s* 'unterleib, inner room, treasury'. In Latin *cu-stōd-* (*ō* as in *στῶμιξ*, § 15; *d*: the *d* of Eng. *stand*, or = the *δ* of *στάδ-α*, see § 4) was 'qui apud cavum (thesauri) stat', and Gothic *huzd*

<sup>1</sup> Anticipation of *w* in pre-Greek *\*ek̑wo-s* rounded it to *ἵππος*, whence *ἵππος* (cf. also Meillet, Mem. Soc. Ling. 9, 136). Or the rough breathing of *ἵππος* may have to be accounted for by supposing confusion with *ἵππη* 'water', not omitting to note the sept of *ικμάς* (for *\*ik̑mas*: the Skr. root *sic* 'fluere'), see Fay, AJPh. 17, 3 sq., Walde, s. v., *equus*.

'treasure' may be derived, perhaps, by Verner's law from \**kus-t(h)ó-m*<sup>1</sup> (§ 53, fn.). [Add. *kúḡṡhi-kā* 'dew-claw'].

64. In the following group we probably have original euphemisms, viz: Skr. *ava(s)-sthā-s* (plur.) 'pud. mul.' = quasi 'dē-stantes'; *upá-stha-s* of the sexual organs = 'sub-stans' (whence, by discomposition, Skr. *upás-* womb?), cf. Skr. *upā* + *ā* + *sthā* = 'coire'. In *πόσθη* and *πόσθιον* 'membrum virile' the prius is (*a*)-*po-* or *po(s)-* = 'ab'<sup>2</sup>. With the posterius cf. colloquial *stake*<sup>3</sup>, quasi *στν-ρός* (see § 20). [NHG. *leiste*, dial. Eng. *last* 'inguen' from Gothic *lai(s)-stō* contains a *stho-* posterius attached to a prius cognate with Lat. *lira* 'furca'. Lith. *ink-stas* 'festiculus, kidney' (prius: Lat. *ingu-en*) rather owes its posterius to irradiation (§ 60)].

65. For Skr. *pr-ṡthā-m* 'back', as for *pr-ṡṡl'-s* 'rib', the definition is obviously 'prae-stans', while *pār-ṡu-s* 'rib' means 'prae-ciens' (= 'swelling', cf. *in-ciens* 'prae-gnas, gravida'). In Greek we have *ἀκνηστis* 'back-bone', the prius being *ἀκνης-* (loc. gen., see § 50) = *ἀκμῆς* (cf. on Osc. *akenei*, Umbr. *per-akni-* Fay, Cl. Quart., 4, 83) 'atop'. Germ. *first* 'top of roof' = Skr. *pr-sthā-m*.

66. Skr. *o-ṡṡha-s* 'upper-lip' is matched by Av. *ao-ṡta-* 'upper-lip', but *ao-ṡtra-* 'under-lip' corresponds minutely, save in gender, to Lat. *au-sc(u)lum* 'kiss' (lit. 'lip', see the examples), with posterius *st(h)olo-* 'stans' as above (cf. § 58). Cf. also *ō(s)-stium* 'mouth' of a river. The prius *au-* means 'ab', as in Lat. *au-fugit*, *au-fert*, cf. OPruss. *au-mūsnan* 'ab-waschung' (cited by Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 2, 2, § 623). Query: Was it from the words for 'lip' that the diphthong *au* worked itself into the *ōs-* 'sept'?<sup>4</sup> The projecting mouth is described by *στόμα* (vowel-color as in *στόμξ*, § 15, fn.).

<sup>1</sup> Greek *κεύ-θω* 'I hide' is itself a compound and meant 'I hole-put' (a compound in general like *type-write*, and recommended to golfers), and its participle \**ku-dhtō-s*, whence \**ku-ddhō-* = 'in cavo positum', would serve well enough as a start-form for *huzd*, did it not separate it from *kó-ṡṡha-s* 'thesaurus' and from *custos*. Skr. *kó-ṡa-s* 'tub, treasure, treasury' will also be a compound = 'in cavo iacens'; posterius *-ṡa-*: *κείται* 'lies' (cf. Skr. *giri-ṡa-s*, VS., 'in monte habitans' with *ὄρεσ-κῶος*).

<sup>2</sup> Skr. *pas-* 'pud. mul.' would have come by discomposition, but PW<sup>2</sup>. no longer registers the word.

<sup>3</sup> For the figure cf. AP. 12, 232, *ὀρθὸν νῦν ἔσται καὶ ἄνάνυμον οὐδὲ παραίνη*.

<sup>4</sup> That *ōs-* is a gesture-word, *ō* or *au*, reproduced by lip-protrusion, and subsequently worked up into the flexional structure of the language, is altogether a probable guess.

67. Another group means 'thigh' or 'shin' or 'leg-bone' (cf. Eng. *bone*=Germ. *bein*), as in Av. *paiti-štāna-* "(Gestell sva.) Bein', vom Fuss bis zur Hüfte" (see Bartholomae, *lex.*, 837). We have in (later) Greek *ιστός* 'shin, leg-bone'. Lith. *staibiai* 'shinbones' can hardly, therefore, be anything but a derivative from *sthā(y)-* 'stare', reinforced by a *bh-* determinative, cf. *σπι-φ-ρός* 'solidus', Lith. *stabas* 'stob'. It is precisely matched, save possibly in vocalism, by Lat. (*s*)*tibia* 'shin-bone' which has lost its *s* by alliteration in the musical group we may indicate by *tibicen* 'piper': *tubicen* 'trumpeter'.<sup>1</sup> With this evidence before us we can hardly doubt that in Skr. *ā-sthi-* / *a-sthān-* 'bone' the posterius means 'stans'. For the generalization of 'bone' from (probably) 'leg-bone' cf. conversely Germ. *bein*; Eng. *bone* (= quasi 'fractum' in sense, from the root *bhēy* 'ferire', see § 18). In the prius I see *od-*, cognate with Skr. *ād-ri-s* 'stone, cliff'<sup>2</sup> (see PAOS. 31, 412<sup>1</sup>), Lith. *ad-ata* 'needle' (of bone?), *ōd-ōús*; and with Skr. *ad-ga-s* 'rohr-stab, stengel'; also 'melted butter' (or some sort of sacrificial food, lexical).<sup>3</sup> The primary

<sup>1</sup> Walde<sup>2</sup> hazards no statement about the etymology of *tuba*. It is one of the numerous progeny of the root *tu-* 'to swell', and save for the difference in determinative belongs with "ON. *pollr* baum, hölzerner pflock, OEng. *pol* pflock" (Walde<sup>2</sup>, p. 798). The *tubus* or reed-pipe was 'hollow', i. e. air-swollen, cf. *tüber* of various swollen and knotty objects. For the specialization of meaning cf. Skr. *tū-līni* 'cotton-s tal k': *tū-la-m* 'rispe' (= 'panicle' as used by Böhtlingk u. Roth, but the same word *rispe* = 'twig' as defined by Kluge). It seems a mere accident that Lat. *tüber* 'knob' (on wood) was never applied to the knot or joint of any of the reed growths.

<sup>2</sup> With *-ri-* as in Lat. *oc-ri-s* 'peak'; with *ad-ri-s* cf. Fr. *aiguille*, Eng. *needle* of 'points' of rock, or 'peaks'.

<sup>3</sup> The citations in the Petersburg lexicon do not enable me to find the connotations of *ad-ga-s*, but MPers. *azg* 'twig' admits of reference to *ὄσχος* (see § 53), and was perhaps a borrowing from Alexander's Greeks even. With *ad-ga-s* 'stirring-stick' (? a sort of 'chopstick') one naturally associates *khaḍg-s* 'sword' wherein *-ga-* (for *gha-*) belongs with the root of *han-* 'ferire'. With *-ga-* cf. the posterius in *phās-yavon* 'sword'—whose prius *phās-* means 'maimer' or 'chewer'—and in *phv(γ)yavon* 'dry-stick for burning'. [If we think of a 'spit' for cooking (cf. the verb *σπατεύω*, one of the numerous derivatives of the root *sthā-*, 'I cook, roast', etc.) the apparent suffix in Skr. *bhṛj-jana-m* and in *τήγανον* (both = 'roasting-pan') becomes clearer. Apropos of *phv(γ)yavon*, let me say in passing that its use for quasi 'shrubs' by Theophrastus in his classification of plants furnishes a complete parallel for my explanation in TAPA, 41, 25 of Skr. *dṣa-dhi-s* as (brenn-) pflanze]. In *phās-yavon* γ is for β by labial dissimilation in the sequence *bh-g(h)w*, with loss of aspiration before *n*, cf. *ἀμνός* 'lamb' (from *agwnd-s*): OEng. *lanian* from *agwhno-* (Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 1, § 704, anm.).

sense of \**od-sthi-* would be quasi 'ess-bein', i. e. a marrow bone. The same *-sthi-* is found in Skr. *sak*[s]*thi-* 'thigh' ('keule') with prius *sak-*: *secat* 'cuts' (Fay, PAOS. 31, 412). In Latin *co-stae* 'ribs' we have the record of the observation of the 'con-stantia' of these bones, cf. OBulg. *ko-sti* 'bone', with a generalization somewhat more advanced than Germ. *gerippe* 'skeleton' (: Eng. *ribs* 'costae') exhibits.

68. To the root *sthā* I also refer the group of words represented by στήνιον στήθος 'breast', Skr. *stānāu* (dual) 'mammae', Av. *fstāna-* 'nodus, nipple', mod. Pers. *pi-stan* 'mamma', Arm. *stin*; cf. *stant papillae* (Lucilius),—*mammae* (Pliny). Starting with the form \**pstāna-* (from IE. *p(ə)t-tā<sup>x</sup>na-*) for the Indo-Iranian group, Johansson (IF. 14, 324) has brought these words into connection with ON. *spine* 'teat' and Lith. *sp' nỹs*, integrating and disintegrating the letters of his equation—all in conformity with the laws of analogous changes—with a skill of which any analytical geometrician might be proud. Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> has adjusted all this, s. v. στή-θος, to a start-form \**pstē(i)n-dhos*. But none of these clever manipulations inspires confidence. How in the world did the Indo-Europeans come to such a designation as this?—for *pst-*, save in the onomatopoeia of sneezing and the like, is quite asyllabic. For the breasts of the human female the designation as (*ex*)*stantes* leaves nothing to desire. Originally the sense may have been something like 'knot, knob, protuberance', as in Lith. *stavaris*, e. g. In view of this notandum we may dismiss from consideration ON. *spine* and Lith. *spėnỹs* as belonging to the root *sphēy-* 'tumere', cf. Skr. *pīvaḥ-sphākā-* 'pinguī tumens', *sphīta-s* 'gequollen (of grains), regen-schwanger' (of a cloud swollen with rain), *sphā-ra-s* 'pustule', *sphī-gī* 'hip' (cf. on ὀσφύς, § 53);<sup>1</sup> cf. also σπι-θ-αμή 'span' (in accent like παλα(ι)στή,

<sup>1</sup> Or is ὀσφύς to be identified with *sphī-gī*? Then we must operate with a root *sphēy* | *sphōw* (see Fay, AJPh. 25, 371). Derivatives of this root seem to have meant not only 'largus' (in the Latin sense of 'copious, generous'), but also (like Spanish *largo*) 'longus' and 'latus' (cf. Lat. *spa-tium*). From substantivized 'longus' comes Skr. *sphyds* 'holz-span, opfermesser', cognate with the posterius in Lat. *sece-spi-ta* 'sacrificial knife': *spatula* and σπάθη. [Prellwitz has lately suggested (KZ. 44, 358) the identification of *-spīta* with σπάθη, but of course *spatula* is the nearer term]. Here the word actually designating the cutting instrument has been ousted by the adjective 'largus', cf. e. g. Span. *larga* 'mace' (in the game of billiards). It is as though in Eng. *long-bow* or *small-sword* the posterius had been omitted. Also cf. *sharps*, *betweens*, *blunts*, designations of three sorts of needles; *middles*, 'side-meat,

in suffix like *παλάμη*). We have the sense of 'largus', i. e. 'copiosus' in *sphi-rá-s* 'fat' (of the 'belly'), *páyaḥ-sphāti-* (AV. 19, 31, 10)<sup>1</sup> *pṛvaḥ-sphāká-s* 'von fett strotzend'.<sup>2</sup> Why refuse to see that a start-form \**sphēy-no* 'swelling', with the legitimate weakenings of *ē(y)*, accounts phonetically and semantically for ON. *spine*, Lith. *spėnỹs*? This start-form also clears up Av. *fštāna-*, mod. Pers. *pī-stan*, as from *(s)ph(i)-stāna-* 'strotz-stehend'. The loss of the *i-* in the Avestan form will be due to the use of *p(z)-stāna-* in composition, cf. the compound *ərədva-fšna-* 'altimammus', wherein *fšna-* is a reduction of *fštāna-* (*ā* as in Skr. *stāna-*).

69. But *στῆθος* and Skr. *stāna-* still have their difficulties, the former in its common Greek *η*,<sup>3</sup> and the latter in its deaspiration; yet *στῆθος* shows how the deaspiration of *stāna* may have come about, and the *η* of *στῆθος*, which meant rather 'chest' than 'mamma', may be due to association with *τήθη* and its sept, cf. *τίθος* 'mamma', : the root *dhē(y)-* 'to suckle'. Siebs (see KZ. 37, 294) might even derive *στη-* from *dhēy-*. For *στη-θος* there are various start-forms to reckon with, as e. g. *st(h)ā-stho-s* (reduplicated). Or *στη-* may be nominal (cf. *στέας* 'fat', Skr. *ghṛta-s* [h] *āv-a-s* [AV. 12, 2, 17] 'ghee-drops'—with non-contiguous deaspiration ?), governed by *-θος* 'faciens, dans'.

70. Other words meaning 'breast' exhibit *-st(h)-* as a posterior. Thus we have in Greek *μα-στός/μα-σθός* (Doric), but Homeric *μα-ζός*. For the first pair I think at first blush of 'mammastans' as perhaps giving the correct clue to the derivation, but further facts need to be taken account of, viz: (1) Homeric *μαζός* from *μα-σδός*, whose *sd* varying with *-st(h)-* in *μαστός* suggests

bacon'; *middlings*, 'a sort of bran'; *tops*, 'plated buttons'. Such omissions characterize technic language. In Greek *φάσ-γανον* (§ 67) the prius may be from *(s)phas-* 'long': Skr. *sphy-d-s* 'long[-knife]'. With *sphyd-s* 'holz-span' OHG. *spahha*, with a different determinative, may be compared, also Greek *σφάζει* (from *spha-g-*) 'sacrifices' (lit. 'uses a long[-knife]').

<sup>1</sup> Whitney properly renders in his translation by 'fatness of milk', after having joined Roth in their edition in emending to *gāya-sphāti-s*, doubtless because of *gāya-sphāna-* 'den hausstand mehrend' (RV.). Böhtlingk in PW<sup>2</sup>. is curiously misleading when he enters "*gāyasphāti-* f. AV. 19, 31, 10, wohl fehlerhaft für *pāyaḥ-sphāti-*".

<sup>2</sup> The root *sphē(y)-* can hardly be different in the last resort from the root found in Lat. *optimus* (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v.).

<sup>3</sup> Herwerden, Lex<sup>2</sup>. s. v. quotes only literary instances which, if the word was taken up from Homer, after its disappearance from actual speech, can prove nothing.

that the prius must be a word to suit the postures indicated by 'sedens' and 'stans'; (2) the other parts of the body indicated by Skr. *māstaka-s* 'head, skull, point, peak', μάσταξ 'mouth', cf. *μούσταξ* 'upper lip, moustache' (see § 66), all names of 'projecting' parts of the body. The entire group is cognate with the words Lat. *mentum* 'chin' (cf. *mentula* 'membr. vir'.) and Germ. *mund* 'mouth'; cf. also Lat. *mont-* 'peak'. Their prius was either *mṛt-* or *mṛ-* (cf. Lat. *e-min-et* 'projects'), though *μούσταξ* has at least the vowel of Skr. *mū-kha-m* 'mouth'.

71. The name of the 'breast' attested by Goth. *bru-sts* also had a posterius *-stho-s*. The root was, in a weak stage, *bhru-* (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *de-frūtum*), and meant 'swelling', cf. Mlr. *brú* 'belly', *bruinne* 'breast'. Here also belongs Skr. *bhrū-s* 'brow', Av. *brv-at-*, ὀφρύς. In Latin *frons* 'forehead' we have the continuant of *\*bhrōw-nt-*, whence pre-Latin *\*frōwent-*, *\*frōwont-*, *frōnt-*. For the suffix *-nt-*, replacing *-axt-* (see § 53), cf. οὖ-*ar-a* 'aures', ἡπ-*ar-os* 'iecinoris'.

72. In Latin *crī-sta* 'tuft, top-knot' we have a locative prius *krī*<sup>1</sup> 'in capite', unless the *ī* is a reduction of the *-āy-* stem attested in *κραπιάλη* 'head-ache' (lit. 'splitting'<sup>12</sup>), *κραί-ρα* 'tip, point', (Fay KZ. 41, 208). With *crī-sta* cf. Av. *srvi-stāy-* above (§ 45).

73. In Latin *crinis* 'hair' the prius is *crī-* 'in capite' + *smi-s* 'positus, iacens' (: *sinit* 'lays', *ponit* 'lays off'?). The posterius is found also in Skr. *kapu[t]-ṣṇī-kā* 'haar-buschel', cf. *u-ṣṇī-ṣa-s* 'head-band' [by discate-  
nation from *[kap]u[t]-smi-ṣa-s?*] and may come from the root *snē(y)-* 'nēre, nexere, nectere'. For the sense and the locative prius note Skr. *ṣirasi-ja-* 'head-born', *ṣirasi-ruha-* 'head-grown', whence 'hair'.

74a. In Skr. *pr̥thu-ṣṭu-/pr̥thu-ṣṭu-ka-* (RV.) 'latam-cristam-habens' the posterius *st(h)u-* (with deaspiration) was named from its upright or 'standing' position. In English we similarly allocate 'top' to a hair growth in the word *fore-top*, used of the mane of a horse topping his forehead.

74b. Lat. *intestinum* : Skr. *antastyam* (Āit. Br.) and *antaḥ-sthā* (Ç. Br.) 'die im innern befindlich belebende kraft'. For the first pair of these, proethnic *entax[r]-sthā-* is a very probable start-form, cf. Av. *antarə-šta-* of the space between sky and earth, which, like *antaḥ-sthā-*, shows recomposition with *antar-*. As in

<sup>1</sup> I see no good reason to question Bartholomae's a priori belief in a locative in *-ī*, but on this point I am expressing my convictions elsewhere. This case in *-ī* is alive in the Slavic languages (see Brugmann, Gr. <sup>2</sup>, II. 2, § 162, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the gloss of Hesychius, *κραπιάλη* ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς χθιζῆς μέθης κεφαλαγία.



πρόσθιος etc. (§ 6) the Greek correspondent ἐντόςθια preserves the aspirate. The -*sthu* of Skr. *vani-sthū*, one of the intestines, has already been put in the right light (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *vensica*).

#### THE HAND AND FINGER GROUP.

75. At this point it seems expedient to explain some of the words in this group, and chiefly Skr. *aṅgū-stha-s* 'thumb' (= on hand standing, see § 61), \**tri-stho-s* 'tip-standing' (of the mid-finger, § 31), *kṣw-ek(s)-stho-s* 'co-ex-stans' (of the second thumb in the digital count, see § 36), and *παλα(ι)στή* 'palm' (§ 61). Brugmann's list in IF. 18, 129 sq. contained, besides Skr. *hāsta-s* 'hand' and *gābhastī-s* (see also my discussion of these words in PAOS. 31, 412, where deaspirated -*st(h)o-s* and -*st(h)i-s* were interpreted as elements of composition), the following: (1) OBulg. *grū-sti* 'hand-full': Russ. *gorst* 'hollow hand': (2) OHG. *fust*: OBulg. *pešti* 'fist' (see on Av. *puxda-*, § 32); (3) Lith. *pīr-szta-s*: OBulg. *prü-sti* 'finger' [lit. = quasi 'prae-stans', cf. § 65]; (4) Alban. *gl'ist/g'ist* 'finger' [from *gw<sub>l</sub>-st(h)i-s* 'stachel-stehend': Lith. *gelūn̄s* 'stachel', cf. Pedersen in KZ. 39, 393]. To these should be added the sept of Eng. *wrist*: Goth. \**wristi* from \**wrih-sti-* (see Kluge<sup>6</sup>, s. v. *rist*) and Skr. *muṣṭi-s* 'fist' from \**muḥ-sthi-s* with aspiration lost according to § 42 a. With *muṣṭi-s*: Av. *muṣti-* Lat. *mucro* 'point, blade' belongs, and the pair *pūgnus* 'fist': *pūgio* 'dagger' makes the comparison entirely probable (pace Charpentier in IF. 29, 398, who prefers a start-form \**mut-sti-s*: Lat. *mūto* 'membr. vir.', a meaning also found for *muṣṭi-s*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It seems strange that the etymology of Latin *mūto* has not been cleared up before now. It cannot be separated from the word *moetino* (ablv.), Lucilius, ap. Non. 11, 1, cf. also Priap. 72, where *mutin(i)o* (ablv.) = 'pēne'. Accordingly *u* is from *oe* as in Lat. *murus*: *moenia*. The low use of *stake* (see § 64) in our time fixes the relation of *moetinus*: Skr. *me-thf-s* 'stake'. So when the later Frontinus is cited for the spelling *moeta* = *mēta* we do well to conclude that he spelt correctly. From the use of *moetae*, which were probably phallic symbols (see Fay, AJPh. 26, 191, § 30 b), as goal-posts and termini, i. e. as measures of a race-track and of boundaries, confusion with *mētiōr* 'I measure' yielded the current form *mēta*. For the date when the hypocoristic spelling *multo* was established we must wait for the materials of the Thesaurus, and then only inscriptional evidence would give certainty, not the MS. evidence of Porphyrio ad Horatium, S. 1, 2, 68. As a historical problem we know not when in the four to five hundred years that intervened between Lucilius (and Horace) on the one side and Porphyrio on the other the change from

## NAMES OF ANIMALS AND THEIR STALLS.

76. Note was taken above of the sense of 'stall' (§ 14), and ἀκοστήσας (§ 50) explained as from \*ἀκοστος 'in vinculo stans'. In English, *stud* which meant 'stall' has given rise to *stud-horse*, again shortened to *stud*. Still earlier, *steed* 'war-horse' was developed from the same root, cf. *stallion* from *stall* (cf. ἰππό-στασις and σταθμός), and see further Kluge, s. v. *stute* 'stud-mare'. These words, as well as Lith. *stódas*, implied a 'herd' of horses. What reason, then, to question the interpretation given above (§ 14) of *sunnistā* as 'herd of swine'? The *st* of OHG. *hengist* is also, then, a confix, cf. *hangisto* in the Lex Salica. The prius, *hangi-* or *hangi(s)-*, will then be cognate with Lat. *cingulum* 'girth', and the compound is comparable with \*ἀκοστος above. In either compound the prius may have designated a sort of halter, cf. ἡ ἐπὶ φαννίδια φορβεῖα (Xenophon) and ἡ αὐλητικὴ στομὴς (gloss of φορβεῖα, Hesychius). The differentiation of animals as 'stalled' (= τροφία) and 'grazing' (= φορβάδες) was ever so early an economic condition (see on *pecus* = 'tied' TAPA. 41, 34<sup>1</sup>). Thus Skr. *gr̥ṣṭī-s* 'heifer, heifer with her first calf' may be from \**g(h)ṛd(h)-sthīs* 'in caulis stans', with prius: Av. *gərəda-* 'caverna'. The same form is also cited for 'boar' with a lexical variant \**ghr̥-ṣṭīs*. Could a stalled boar (think of the household pig in rural Ireland) be meant? Still, with Virgil's *sus horridus* before us we must feel like connecting the prius with the root \**gher(s)/gher(s)* 'to be rough; to scratch'<sup>1</sup> (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. vv. *ēr* and *frendo*: it is quite unreasonable to refuse to unite two 'roots' of such meaning). With *gr̥ṣṭī-s* 'heifer', if from \**g(w)hr̥d(h)-sthīs*, we may unite Lat. *forda* / *horda* 'pregnant heifer', if from \**g(w)hr̥d-zdhā*. I derive Goth. *fra-sts* 'progenies' from \**pro-sthi-s* whence also, *mut. mut.*, πορ[σ]τις 'heifer', cf. the counter terms πρό-βατον 'sheep' and Lat. *prōles*, *sub-oles* of children and young animals going before or under their drivers or begetters. By transfer to plants of some word like *suboles* the conditions arose under which the root written as *al-* 'nutrire' (in Lat. *alo*, cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v.) grew up beside the root written as *el* 'ire' (ib. s. v. *ambulo*). With *suboles* of 'twigs' and of the

*mūto* to *mutto* may have taken place. As a phonetic question, folk Latin *mūccus* for *mūcus* and *glūtto* for *glūto* are parallel cases (see further Vendryes, *Intens.*, §§ 126 sq. and § 10). [In CIL XIV, 1940, *muthunium*].

<sup>1</sup> Lucilius 333, *scaberat, ut porcus contritis arbore costis*, justifies this notandum for 'boar' from another side.

'hair', cf. Xenophon's use of *ἀναβαίνειν* to describe the growth of climbing plants and of the hair.

77. Besides the names of animal stalls already discussed in another connection (§ 14) attention must be called to Goth. *awistr* 'sheep-stall'. After all that has been said, Bezzenberger's comparison of *-str* (KZ. 22, 278) with Skr. *stara-s* 'stratum,' Lat. *torus* 'couch', but above all with Lith. *strajð* 'straw; stall', especially 'horse-stall,' leaves nothing to desire. The sense of 'straw' is immediately discernible in OHG. *bol-star*<sup>1</sup>, ON. *bol-str* 'cushion' with prius: OSwed. *bul-in* auf-gebläht (v. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 2, 1, p. 347); cf. the posterius with the sense of Lat. 'storia' in Goth. *huli(s?)-str*<sup>2</sup> 'cover', etc. In Goth. *ga-nawistrôn* 'sepelire' we have to recognize *\*nawī-str* 'cadaveris storia' (i. e. 'operculum'). For the propriety of this analysis of *awi-str* cf. further male *substernere* pecori (Pliny) and pullos *substernere*; and for *ga-nawistrôn* cf. *στρώμα* 'pavement' and 'viam sternere'.

#### SERVANTS AND MASTERS.

78. First of the words in this list I mention the pair already treated in another connection (§ 6), viz: *abhi-ṣṭi-s* 'hülfe, förderung', but *abhī-ṣṭi-s* 'helfer, beistand' (both = Lat. 'opera'). The definition 'bei-stand' (cf. Fr. *assistant*) makes for conceiving the posterius as *-st[h]i-s*, and the appearance of *-st(h)ā-* in further words of this group should leave no doubt, as e. g. in *nī-ṣṭha-s*, used in the plural for 'dependents', i. e. 'servi'. Skr. *upa-sti-* (or *ūpa-sti-*) also means 'servant', and that this is for *\*upa-sthī-* scarcely admits of doubt when we note *upa-sthāyaka-s* (Buddhistic) 'servant' and Av. *upa-stā-* 'bei-stand, hilfe'. By discomposition (but see 43 a) from *abhi-ṣṭi-s* and *ūpa-sti-s* we have *stī-n* 'clientes', even though it picked up all the significance attached to it by Ludwig on RV. x, 148, 4 (vol. v, p. 220) as "die bezeichnung der gesammten ansässigen und besitzberechtigten bevölkerung"—in contradistinction to the *upastī-*, or plebeian class. With *sti-pā-* 'protector of the *sti-*', used of Agni and Mitra-Varuna, cf. *abhiṣṭi-pā-* (RV. 2, 20, 2) used of Indra as protector

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in RV. *pra-stard-s* 'straw, seat on grass'. A Roman *lecti-sternium* is directly suggested by the ritual passage (TS. 1, 3, 2) *prastare-ṣṭhā barhi-ṣṭha-ṣṭha devā-ḥ*, whence we may infer a *\*barhi(s)-ṣṭha* < r > - cognate with *bol-star*.

<sup>2</sup> Closest of kin is Lat. *colustra* 'biestings', but originally 'cream' = 'cover' of the milk', cf. Skr. *pī-yūṣa-m* (with both meanings) lit. = 'milk-soup' (*-yūṣa-m*: Lat. *jūs* 'soup'). In *colustra* we have a tautological compound = 'cover-cover' (see Fay in KZ. 45, 112, § 4).

of his 'assistants', i. e. servants and followers. Certainly it was with no etymological purpose in mind that Whitney (Gram<sup>2</sup>, 1250 b) defined *nare-ṣṭhā-s* (with *rātha-s* 'chariot' in RV.) by 'serving-a-man' ('man-serving'), but the definition makes for understanding *st(h)i-* as 'servant'. [Here see § 100].

79. In the light of *abhi-ṣṭi-s* 'opera' the analysis of *πενέ(ς)-στης* as 'domi interioris stans', i. e. 'domesticus' is not open to any reasonable challenge. Like *πενέ[ς]-στης*, but with an additional *ko-* suffix, is Lat. *domesticus*, wherein *domes-* may be modelled on Lat. *penes-* (/ *penu-* / *peno-*), or it may be genitive (with local force; cf. *ἀγρώ(σ)-στης* 'ruri-stans', and see § 28) of monosyllabic *dom-*—unless the start-form was *\*domo-sticus*. Homeric *ἀλφη-στής* has a locative prius, *ἀλφᾶ(y)* 'at wage', cf. *ἐλεφαντι-στής* 'elephant-driver' (Aristotle), which is, however, rather too late to be matched with Skr. *rathe-ṣṭhā-* 'in curru stans' (of one military arm<sup>1</sup>) [see also § 102]. But Homeric *ἀκοντι-στής* 'javelin-thrower' obviously equals 'in iaculo stans' (cf. *ἀκοντι-στὺς* 'in iaculo stantia': the root-form *sthewā-*), and is parallel with Skr. *rathe-sthā-*. Both terms will have designated members of distinct arms of the military service. True, we are habituated to deriving both from *ἀκοντιδ-* supposed to be found in the verb *ἀκοντίζω* 'iaculor'. A corresponding trio of words is found in *δαρίζω* 'I chat with', *δαριστής* 'a familiar friend', *δαριστὺς* 'fond discourse'. But *δάριξε* is of pellucid analysis in Z 516, *ὅθι ἦ δάριξε γυναικί* ("where he had dallied with his wife", Lang, Leaf, Myers), viz.: as a compound of *δαρι* (loc. to *δαρ* 'socia, uxor') + *ρίζω*<sup>2</sup> 'I sit', and the original first sense of *δαριστής* (*δαριστὺς*) must have been 'apud socium stans' (. . . 'stantia'). In signification, *δαρος* 'col-loquium' (: *ser-mo*) may be earlier than *δαρ* 'colloquens'. Having this analogical pattern for *ἀκοντίζω*, we need not assert formal analogies as found in *ὀπλίζω*: *ὀπλιστής* (late), *σχιστός*: *σχίζω* (root *σχιδ-*), *έριστός*: *έρίζω*.<sup>3</sup> [See also § 102].

<sup>1</sup> See for 'stare' in military contexts Lewis and Short, s. v. *sto* I B 3; Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ἵστημι* A; PW<sup>1</sup>, s. v. *sthā*, 3. For *stare* of servants cf. neque pueri eximia facie stabant (C. Gracchus, ap. Gell. 15, 12, 2), considered in the light of Horace's ad cyathum statuatur (C. 1, 29, 8).

<sup>2</sup> Probably shortened by haplology in the pre-Greek from *\*δαρ[ι-σ]ι-σδω*.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious to note that *αἰχμητής* 'spearman' may have started, if Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> has correctly derived it from *aigsmā*, as *\*aigsmā(y)-sthā-s* 'in pilo stans' whence, with *s*-dissimilation in the posterius *-[s]thā-s*, *αἰχμη-τής*. In *αἰχμη-τά* we have a nominative of the *agri-cola* type (from *-sthā-*).

80. In Lat. *media-stinus*, the name of a servant of mid degree, the earliest form of record seems to be *mediastrinus* (Lucilius and Cato ap. Non. 143, 4-8). But the earlier form I believe to be, in this case, the less original. If the *r* was not foisted upon the word by imitation of the *-aster-* of *oleaster* (? a rustic way of saying *olea sterilis*)—cf. *parasitaster*, a pejorative of *parasitus* in Terence—it may have got into it proethnically, cf. Av. *raθaē-štar- raθaē-štā-*, Skr. *savya-ṣṭhār-/ savya-ṣṭhā-*, wherein like Sommer (IF. 11, 17 sq.) I see the modification of *-sthā-* in the direction of the *-tor-* suffix. Similarly a *\*medhyā(y)-sthā-* may have given *\*medhyā(y)-sthor-*. I suppose original Lat. *mediā-stinus* 'in media (parte) stans' to have been affected, possibly, by this *\*media-sthor-*. As *mediastinus* describes a servant by his relative rank, OBulg. *ogni-sti*<sup>1</sup> 'mancipium' describes him by his special function as fire-builder (so, in substance, Miklosich). For another possible interpretation of *ogni-* see Fay, KZ. 45, 122.

81. As a counter term to *πενέ(σ)στης* we have Skr. *apnaḥ-sthā-s* 'gutsherr'<sup>2</sup>, with a reintroduced *ḥ* (from *s*); add Elean *τελε(σ)-στᾶ* 'magistrate'. So OBulg. *staro-sta* 'village-head' may be neither a superlative as Miklosich seemed to think (Wtbch., p. 320), nor an abstract (cf. Ital. *podesta* from Lat. *potestas*, Eng. *majesty*, the *authorities*) as Brugmann teaches, but a compound of *staro-* (neut. *-es* stem) quasi 'firmum' + *st(h)ā* 'sistens'. In Homeric *θεμιστεύω* we have a verb from *\*θεμι(σ)στεύς* 'fas-stator'<sup>3</sup>, and as Schulze has already surmised (see KZ. 42, 242, fn.) the flexion of *θεμιστός* (gen.) is to be explained by composition of *θεμι<s>-* with a posterior from *sthā-*. Productive as the ending *-εύς* was in Greek, no mere productivity seems quite to account for pairs like *ἀριστοι* and *ἀριστῆες* 'principes', *ἀγχιστος* and *ἀγχιστεύς* 'proximus heres'. Here, where the superlatives have *-stho-* (see § 43), their co-ordinates have *-sthāw-* (cf. Skr. *sthāvarā-s*, § 4), and in the *η*-dialects their plural ended in *-στη(F)-ες*. From *βασι-λῆες*; *βασιλεύς* (*-lēw-s*, see Class. Quart. 5, 119; IF. 29, 417) pairs like *ἀριστῆες* : *ἀριστεύς* were developed. Germ. *fürst* 'princeps' and

<sup>1</sup> Here *-sti* is of transitive force; see §§ 81, 105.

<sup>2</sup> The rendering *opi-plenus* were perhaps more accurate. To the Roman scholars (cf. e. g. Servius ad Aen. 1, 646) *plenum esse* was a current definition—accurate, too, to all intents and purposes—for *stare*. In Aen. 6, 300, *stare flammae* (for this is the MSS. reading) is for *plenum esse flammae*; cf. exx. in § 81, fn.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps 'fas-canens', see § 17 for *st(h)u-*.

Skr. *pra-stha-s* 'Vordermann' both = *prae-stans*, while Av. *fraē-šta* 'nuntius', with prius = Lat. *prae-*, came to mean 'one who *stands for* another, his representative', unless *-šta* has causal force here (cf. exx. in § 19).

82. Like *apnah-sthá-s* 'gutsherr' is Latin *scele(s)-stus* which every student of Plautus knows to mean 'scelerum dominus, scelera sistens/scelerum compos, scelerum plenus'. The same analysis suits *honestus*, *modestus*, *robustus* (but see § 51), and secondary *mōlēstus* 'mōlem sistens'. It is not clear whether in Skr. *sthā-pati-s* 'loci dominus' the prius means 'locus', i. e. 'stand, stop, halt; settlement' (see § 14) or corresponds with Skr. *sti-* 'clientela' in meaning. The type of *scelestus* is represented in Greek proper names like *Θυέστης* 'sacra sistens', later = *δοιδυξ*. The late words *ἀρεστής*/*ἀρεστήρ* are probably translations of Lat. *placenta*. [The proper names *Μενεσθεύς* (on *-εύς* see § 81), *Μενέσθης*, *Μενέσθιος* show *θ* not *τ*, and are all compounded with *μένεσ-* 'vis', as *scele(s)-stus* with *sceles-*. Formally cf. Skr. *mana(s)sthas* 'in corde habitans'].

83. In Latin *sospes* I also recognize a *sti-* to correspond with Skr. *sti-*, while the ending *-pet-* is from *-pat-*: Skr. *pā* 'protector' (in *sti-pā* 'protector of the *sti-*'). I derive *sospet-* from *swo-sthi-pat-* 'protector of one's own *sti-*'. This accounts for *sospita* as the title of Juno, cf. above on Agni and Mitra-Varuṇa as the *sti-pā*, on Indra as *abhiṣṭi-pā* (§ 78). For the dialectic form *seispita*<sup>2</sup> (Juno) it is necessary to write *\*swoi-sthi*, not *\*swo-sthi*. This dative *swoi-* corresponds with the prius in Av. *xʷaē-pati* 'himself' (cf. vulgar 'his self'), which forms a nearly precise counter-term to *\*swoi-sthi-* 'sui-clientela'; also cf. OPers. *uvāi-pašiya-m* 'sui-possessio'. In these compounds the dative (for I agree with Foy in so regarding the Iranian prius) acts the rôle of a possessive, or seems to. It is not a little curious that in English, also, the complexes like *him-self* exhibit a dative prius. So much for *sospes* in its active sense of 'saving'. For the passive sense of 'salvus' it seems expedient to derive from *\*swo-stho/i- + potis* = '(of)-welfare-possessed', cf. with *\*swo-stho-* Skr. *sva-stha-* defined by 'in seinem natürlichen zustand sich befindend . . wohl auf, gesund' (see § 11), and Lith. *savi-stas* 'independent, self-directing,

<sup>1</sup> Possible also is *\*swo-sthi-p-* 'welfare-protecting' with metathesis to *\*swo-spilh-*. Cf. the later metathesis in Alb. *štepi-* 'domus' from Lat. *hostipium* (?).

<sup>2</sup> I pass without comment over the derivation of *seis-* from *sīd(o)s*.

self-reliant' (lit. 'selbst-stehend'), cf. Lat. *liber(s)tus* 'frei-stehend' (§ 29). A possible division of the pre-Latin start-form is *swo-sthapoti-s* 'sui potens', with posterius=*Skr. sthā-pati-s* (§ 82).

#### INHABITANTS, WANDERERS, STRANGERS.

84. The current interpretation of *caelestis* as 'in caelo stans' (cf. *Skr. divi-stha-*) is not open to doubt, in my opinion, however insoluble the debate whether *e* is long or short. If, with some investigators, we explain the *ē* of *lēvis* and *lēvi* (pf. of *lino*) as from *ēi caelē-* would be normal from *\*caelei*, but I am rather inclined to think the *e* of *caelestis* dialectic. In any case, as a conceptual opposite to *terrēs-tris*<sup>1</sup> (-es- stem + *-tri-* 'faring', see Fay, *AJPh.* 31, 409)—cf. Ital. *cilestro* 'caerulean'—its *ē* was liable to reduction to *ē*. As for *agrestis* it can never be determined whether it corresponded in its posterius to *caelestis* or to *terrestris*. That *terrestris* was highly productive is shown by *silvestris*, *campestris*, *vallestria*, *lanestris* (cf. *campestre* 'leather apron'), and it is even hard to decide whether *palustris*<sup>2</sup> started from *\*palud-tris* 'marsh-faring' or came by irradiation from *terres-tris* 'dry-land-faring'. In *pedestris* and *equestris* we have adjectives pertaining to subdivisions of the *exercitus terrestris* (Nepos; also *proelia t.*)—a combination possibly attested by Accius when he writes in highly metaphorical language *terrestris pontus strages conciet* (ap. Cic. *N. D.* 2, 89); cf. *pedestres navalesque pugnae* (Cicero), wherein *pedestres* has replaced *terrestres* (but Cicero has *terrestris archipirata*). Direct derivation from *\*pedet-tris* 'footgoing-faring' *\*equet-tris* seems most unlikely.

<sup>1</sup> The sphere of original usage of *terrestris* is shown by its application in Plautus *pecudes* and *sus*. By the time of Cicero *terrestris* and *caelestis* had become fixed contrasts in the natural history classification.

<sup>2</sup> The influence of *palustris* has given to *lustrum* 'haunt, place of wandering' the sense of 'bog, swamp', but *lustrum* is from the root found in *ἐλεύθω* 'eo' + *-tro-m* (as in *Skr. sthā-trā-m* 'standort'—the comparison of which with Lat. *ob-stāculum*, OEng. *stodl* 'postis' (Brugmann *Gr.* II. 1, p. 341) is purely gratuitous). In *lus-trum* the posterius may have meant quasi 'erratio' (: the root *ter-* 'to fare', generalized into something like 'haunt'). Cf. also *lustrō* (Nae-vius) 'errator', and *lustrō* 'erro'. *Skr. sthā-trā-m* is a counter term to Lat. *lustrum*. [Certainty as between *-tro-* and *-tlo-* in words of this meaning is not to be reached, cf. Lith. *bū-klė* 'residence', Lat. *ambulācrum* 'promenade' (both with *-tl-*), but Lat. *cas-trum* 'fundus' (with *tr-*). The *-tl-* forms would show association with the sept. of Germ. *stelle* 'locus'.] *Illustris* is from *\*in-lux-tris*.

85. Other inhabitants are designated by ὄρε(σ)-στιάδες (Homer) 'mountain-dwelling', wherein we have a syncretism of *-sthi-s* (as in *caele-stis*) and *σταδ-* as in *στάδ-α* 'stagnantem' (aquam), see § 5. In ἀγρώ(σ)-στης 'field-dweller' (Soph. Eur.) the prius is a local genitive (§ 28).

86. The posterius is entirely obvious in a word like μετ-ανα-στής 'land-louper' (see Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 262), wherein the sense of 'wanderer' comes from the preverbs (cf. Skr. *pra-sthāv-an-*, § 14). It is equally impossible, because of the intrinsic semantic appeal of the explanation (§ 3), to refuse the explanation of Lat. *hostis* 'stranger' (see Fay, Class. Quart., 1, 28) as from [*e*]gho(s)-st(h)i-s 'extra-stans'.<sup>1</sup> Nor do I pass over Walde's objection that *eḡhs* (whence *ex*) has a palatal and *hostis* a pure guttural, but that is because the *e-* has palatalized<sup>2</sup> the *gh* of *eḡhs*. Certainly a difference between a *k̂-* and a *k-* can no longer be urged against a derivation sound in all other respects, at least not by a scholar who uses the language used by Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *acus*. For the division *ho(s)-stis* OIr. *gall* 'hostis' may be pleaded, for which Stokes-Fick (p. 108) surmise derivation from \**ghas-los* i. e. \**ghos-lo-s* = 'ex' + a suffix (?) *-lo-*. Perhaps this *-lo-* belongs to a root *lēy-* 'lie' in Skr. *lī-nas* 'anschmiegend, anliegend, geduckt', cf. *lē(y)-gh-* in the kin of *λάχεῖα* <'low'> lying' (ap. Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, s. v.). For the pair \**ghos-lo-s* 'out-lying': *gho(s)-stis* 'out-standing' cf. Skr. *aṅgū-li-s* 'finger' (=on-hand-lying): *aṅgū-ṣṭha-s* 'thumb' (= 'in manu exstans', see Fay, AJPh. 31, 479). The applicability of these names will have rested in the use of the raised (standing) and depressed fingers in counting (see § 31<sup>1</sup>).

87. Let us apply these observations to Skr. *ātithi-s* 'guest' Av. *asti-š* 'geselle, genosse' (i. e. 'comer'), and assume that, as in *hostis*, the posterius was *-sthi-s*, and write the two start-forms (1) \**atisthi-s* and (2) \**atsthis*, wherein *ati-* and *at-* are root-nouns:

<sup>1</sup> Greek ξ-έν-*Fos* is similarly 'extra-in-habitans'. What theory of mere coincidence could explain such conformity of definition to analysis? The yielding in *-Fos* of the *es-* to the *o-* stem (cf. *ó* and *τὸ σκότος*; ἀγγελος: Skr. *dṅgiras-*; the OBulg. cases as collected by Leskien, Hdbch.<sup>3</sup> § 48) need not surprise us in a language where compounds in *-es-* frequently match simplices in *-o-*. [Or is ξ- in ξ-έν *Fos* from ξ*F*, prevocalic form of ξ*v-* 'co-', § 36<sup>1</sup>?]

<sup>2</sup> After Brugmann's fuller treatment (Grundriss 2, 2, 823) I am now quite willing to admit the *ḡh* of *eḡhs*, but that carries no proof of *ḡh* in *ghos-*, nor perhaps even in \**eghos* (see § 12 fn.).



the Skr. root *at-* 'errare'. In *ati-* I see a locative 'in erratione', and the derivation of 'guest' from 'in erratione stans' leaves nothing to desire. As in the case of *ξ-év-Fos* 'ex-in-habitans' and *ho[s]-stis* 'extra-stans' the definition is too apt to be referred to coincidence. The second start-form *\*atsthis* may have originated from the first in composition (cf. Bartholomae in IF. 7, 70) and *átithi-s* is found in RV. in four compounds. But *\*atsthi-s* would have two sense elements, *at-* 'errare' and *-sthi-s* 'stans', and according as one of these elements outweighed the other (cf. § 12) the forms (3) *\*asthi-s* (cf. on *asthi* § 67) and (4) *\*atthis* would result. Now all four of these forms might have had a contemporary vogue, for language changes do not occur overnight, and the reaction of (4) *\*at-this* on (1) *\*ati-sthi-s* would have yielded what has survived in Skr. *dti-thi-s*. Perhaps *\*ghosthis*, conceived as *\*ghos-this*, played a part.

#### REMAINDERS.

88. Lat. *pestis* 'pestilence' is from *\*per-st(h)is* 'persistent', and was first an adjective qualifying something like *morbus*, cf. Eng. *epidemic*.<sup>1</sup> In social usage, e. g. *quaedam pestes hominum* (Cicero, *Fam.* 5, 8, 2), the sense of 'persistent' may still be felt. The form *pesestas* (Festus, 258), if not a mere dittography for *\*pestas*, may be a blend of *pessum* + *\*pestas*.

89. Lat. *lōcusta* | *lūcusta* 'locust'. This tree-dweller is named from *lō(w)-co-* 'grove' (: *lēw-* 'caedere', v. Walde<sup>2</sup> s. vv. *luo*, *lucus*) + *-sta* 'habitans'.

90. The analysis of Lat. *astus* as *ak-* + *st(h)ū-s* yields a definition approximately = 'acutē-stantia'. Here *-st(h)ūs* is a root-noun from the *sthewā-* form of *sthā*, while in *a-stūtus* we have a participle to the same root. In *ῥακουστής* 'listener, spy' we have *ῥτα* (acc. of specification) + *\*ἄκου-στης* quasi 'astutus': that is to say that *\*ἄκου-στης* has in its prius a correspondent of the stem (?) of *acū-tus*, *acū-men*. The complex will equal 'sharp-standing-as-to-the ears', and *-ακου-στης* is only a somewhat preciser *acutus* (cf. *aures* | *capripedum satyrorum acutas*, Horace, *c.* 2, 19, 3). Query: Is the verb *ἀκούω* anything different from Lat. *acuo*, save that *ῥτα* had been lost from its phrase use? The present *ἀκούω* no more proves *\*akou-sy-* than *βασιλεύω* proves an *-sy-* flexion. Per-

<sup>1</sup> I have lived under conditions where an epidemic was usually described by the euphemism "the prevailing",—in derision of a diagnosis supposed to be "official".

haps the *-oῖσ-*sept has been derived from (*a*)*h̥-ōw-s-* 'sharpen' by some process of apocope due in part to gradation. A medial stage of this would be indicated by Goth. *h-au-s-jan* 'to hear': κ-ο(*F*)έω. [Cf. Hom. *νη-κούσθησε* 'non-audit'].  
 91. Latin *crusta* (: κρύσταλλος 'ice') contains in *cru(s)-* a cognate of *cruor* 'clotted blood' and *crudus* 'hard' (of unripe fruits); or else of *cor(n)u* 'horn': Av. *sr-v-i* (§ 45), the *u*-stem being parallel with the *es*-stem of the *κέρas*-sept (cf. § 51). The complex meant 'hard-' or 'horn-standing'.

## ADDENDA.

92. For the posterius *-ster-* in Lat. *passer* (§ 13) cf. OHG. *lī-sterā* 'thrush', quasi 'leim-streuend', from his plastered nest.

93. OIr. *arsa(i)d* 'vetus', from *paro(s)-stāti-s* (Fick-Stokes<sup>4</sup> p. 37), cf. on Skr. *purastāt* § 15. Lith. *at-stū* 'longe' (i. e. 'dis-stans').

94. Lat. *gurgu-stium* 'hovel', prius *gṛgr̥dho-*: Av. *gṛr̥da-* 'cave-hut'; *-stium* as in Skr. *pā-stī(y)a-m* (§ 16).

95. [19] Skr. *pada-stha-s* "zu fusse gehend", eig. stehend" (P. W.): cf. *pat-tis* 'foot-soldier', possibly with recomposition (cf. § 13) giving *d-t* for *-st-*. For loss of aspiration see § 42 a. We have the same formation (prius *pēd-*) in Lith. *pė-szczias* (*-sthyo-s*) 'pede-iens'. Skr. *mārga-stha-s* in (recta) via stans. OHG. *lī-sta* 'seam' is cognate in both its parts with Ger. *leiste* (§ 64), and both with *leisten* 'foot-track'.

96 [44]. Skr. *bḥṛ-ṣtis* 'top' had an original prius *bḥṛḡh-*, cognate with *bṛhánt-* 'altus'. For the loss of *ḡ* and retention of *s* see § 12. Lith. *kūp-stās* 'hill, tuft': *kup-rà* 'hump'.

97 [43]. Of the connection of the Greek superlatives with stems in *-εσ-* I had caught sight in AJPh. 31, 411, § 23. Note the explanation by haplogy of ἐλέγχ[εσ]ι-στος 'in culpa stans', κέρδ[εσ]ι-στος 'devoted to gain', κήδ[εσ]ιστος 'dearest' (= 'in cura stans'), κύδ[εσ]ι-στος 'in gloria stans'; cf. the proper name Μηκ[εσ]ι-στεύς 'Longissimus'.

98 [45]. Lith. *rañ-stis* 'prop, stay'—prius in Skr. *rámate* 'festmacht'. Perhaps to Lat. *restis*, if from *\*remstis*; cf. *ra-stas* 'beam' (pace Schleicher, Hdbch. p. 115). Homeric πλατάνιστος for πλατάνος 'plane-tree' may owe its *-στος* to some other vegetal growth (§ 47), unless *-στο-s* = 'stalk', as in *aḡva-ttha-s* (?). By irradiation from *aḡva-ttha-s* (45 fn.) we have Skr. *kāpi-ttha-s*

'monkey-tree', *kula-ttha-s* (prius: *kú-la-m* 'copia'?), the name of a pod fruit.

99 [47]. Note the posterius in *κρά-στις/γρά-στις* 'green fodder'.

100 [78 sq.]. SERVANTS AND MASTERS: *ἀγορα-στής* 'market-servant, buyer'.<sup>1</sup> Av. *hāvi-šta-* 'camillus' was literally 'in pre-mendo (sc. "soma") stans'. For the infinitival *hāv-i* cf. Skr. *vāhi-ṣṭha-s* (AJPh. 31, 411, § 20). Precisely the same explanation accounts for the so-called superlative *yāj-i-ṣṭha-s* (§ 43) as for the later *yajñā-stha-s* "mit[einem] opfer beschäftigt" (PW.<sup>2</sup>; for the rendering 'beschäftigt mit' cf. PW.<sup>1</sup>, vii, 1280, 3). As a part of speech, *hāvi-šta-* is like Lat. *lanista* (l. s. c. 412, § 24 a). Lexical Sanskrit has *pārṣva-stha-s* 'ad latus stans' and *doh-stha-s* 'ad brachium stans' as names of servants. Mr. *foss* 'servus' is from *upo-stho-s*. It is not necessary to mention transparent formations like Skr. *parame-ṣṭhīn-* 'praeses', *tri-ṣṭhīn-* 'auf dreifachem grunde stehend', but *Διοσξενιασταί* may be given as a representative of the names of members of innumerable Greek commissions and guilds. Hence, by irradiation, a word like Hesychian *ἑθυσταί* 'fellow countrymen'.

101. Because of their formal likeness to a name like *ἀλφ-στής* (§ 79) we may note \**Ἀλκη-στις* = 'in vigore stans'; (cf. *ἀλκηστής* 'piscis quidam'), \**Ἀδρή-στη* (? 'in industria stans'), *Γεραϊ-στός* (a promontory, but also a town with secure harbor) 'in honore stans' (?), \**Ὀγχηστός* (city on a ridge; also a brook in a gorge) 'in angusto stans' (for vocalism of \**ὄγχα*- see Fay, § 19, fn.). Add. *κληιστός* 'in clave stans'.

102 [79]. A full, if not complete, collection of the Homeric words in *-ιστής* reveals their semantic range. Of genuine *-ζω* verbs—for *-ιστής*: *-ιζω* is a practical group—with *-ζ-* from *-γγ-* or *δγ-*, Homer, as some one has recently remarked, shows next to no examples. Touching the analysis of *ἀκοντίζω* as *ἄκοντι ἰζω* cf. § 522 where *ἰζοντο* = 'insidiabantur', at least by connotation, and the same sense of the same verb is found in Ait. Br. 3, 14, where *tanī mītyur* . . *asīdat* = ei mors . . insidiabatur. To be sure, *ἀκοντίζω* has gone on in its development of sequel meaning (cf. AJPh. 32, 414 fn.) from 'in (cum) iaculo insidiar' to 'iaculor'. Most clear in its composition is *κελητίζειν* (O 679) = *ἐπὶ κέλῃτι ἰζειν*

<sup>1</sup> Is it that *ἀγόρασις* 'emptio' is from \**ἀγορα-στις* with *-στυ/-σσ* (so in Boeotian) /*-σ-*? Alii alia dixerunt.

'to sit on a horse', used of a rider with a "good seat". It is but an accident that we do not find a \*κελητι-στής like ἐλεφαντι-στής (§ 79); cf. Vedic *hari-gṛhā* 'on a sorrel riding'. By irradiation from κελήτιζω and its sort came περιητιζω, a doublet of περιάω. In ἀκοντι-στής, of one *experienced* with the javelin (§ 100), the posterius may have come to connote 'sciens' as also in κιθαριστής (§ 103), helped by οἶων-ιστής (§ 104); cf. ἐπιστάμενος μεν ἄκοντι (O 282). The group ληι-στής 'robber': ληιστήρ/ληίστωρ (with *r* as in § 80) is to be analyzed exactly as Av. *hāvi-šta-* (§ 100), and ληίζομαι contains a posterius ἴζομαι; cf. the synonymous pair κεραιστής: κεραίζω and, by irradiation, πολεμιστής: πολεμίζω. Military terms under the influence of ἀκοντ-ι-στής are ἀσπι-στής (? prius a locative plural ἀσπ[ις]ι) 'in scutis stans', κορυ[σι]στής 'in galeis stans', πέλτα-στής (? prius πέλτα(ι)s- [cf. παλα(ι)-στή, § 15], or πέλτα[ν]s-, with transitive posterius, § 105; cf. δυνά-στης?). By irradiation, or from standing a bow up to string it, τανυστός 'bow-stretching'. We have -[σ]της, with σ originally lost by haplogy (§ 79, fn.); in κορυνή-της 'club-man', μαχη-τής 'proeliator'; cf. φηλη-τής 'cheat'. On the other hand, τοξότης 'archer' has come by irradiation from ἱππότης, which is for ἱπ[πο]-πότης: Skr. *ārya-pati-s* (VS. : as a proper name in Ç Br., cf. Ἱπποτα Νέστωρ), and is not an abstract ("your horship", forsooth) any more than Lat. *equet-* is an abstract with *t* representing, thanks to an always compliant gradation, the -*ta* suffix of *senecta*.

103 [79]. A special paragraph among the -ιστής: -ίζω formations in Homer is due to the woman-and-song group. On ὁαρίζω see above (§ 79). Add κιθαρίζω κιθαρι-στός 'cither-playing' (on -στός as a musical term see § 20). Sitting and standing are equally suitable postures for the citharist. The prius κιθαρι- is either a locative or the ι-stem, alone known to Homer. As in κρεμβαλια-στός 'clapping for the dance' the prius may have been accusative or accusative and -στος transitive (§ 105). In μακαρι-ίζω 'I make happy' the posterius is transitive, but μακαρι-στός (Hdt.) 'deemed happy' = 'in laetitia stans'. The prius of ὀρχη-στής | ὀρχη-στήρ 'dancer' was probably locative to \*ορχᾶ 'ordo'. In μνη(σ)-στεύω (see also AJPh. 31, 417 fn.) the prius is a local genitive = 'apud feminam' \*στεύω 'I stand up to' (cf. vulgar "to set up to a woman"); note μνη-στής and μνη-στός, both Homeric. Before leaving the verbs in -ίζω: -ιστής I may note that on this model ἀγοράζω (which might well mean 'to sit at

market', used of a buyer; cf. our 'to go [or be] on the market') has been fashioned to correspond to ἀγορα-στής (§ 100).

104. Finely isolated is οἰωνιστής defined by Capelle-Seiler for N 70 by 'der vogelzeichen kundig' (with θεοπρόπος). It is curious that no one seems to have suspected hitherto that οἶων- is gen. plur. = Lat. *avium*, and that -ιστής is for -Fιστής, cf. ἱστωρ τινός (Soph.) = 'gnarus rei'. The note of skill contributed by -Fιστης may perhaps have passed into words like ἀκοντι-στής (§ 102) and κιθαριστής (§ 103).

105 [82]. The *scelestus* and *apnah-stha-s* types are found in κηδε(σ)-στής 'affinis' (after κήδιστος, § 97), Ὀφέλε(σ)-στής quasi 'Auxilius', ἀργε(σ)-στής 'candefaciens' (sc. ventus). That in such words -στη- may be transitive (cf. ἱστημι) needs no special proof. In a word like ὑβρισταί 'insulters' perhaps we do well to start with ὑβρι[ν]-στᾱ; cf. the late example wherein Hesychius (Schmidt<sup>2</sup>, p. 390, 19), probably citing a scholiast, gives us Θησεύς, χαριστητής (i. e. \*χαριν-στητης = 'gratiam referens') ἀπάτης λαβύρινθος (Corrige, λαβυρίνθου) φυγῆς, a collection of genitives perfectly clear, albeit in condensed commentary style.

106. REMAINDERS. 1). χηρωστής, prius χηρω- (inst. = sociative, 'cum herede'; cf. for the σ- stem the posterius in Skr. *bhāga-hara-s* = 'parti-hērēs'; for the sense, ἀγχι-στεύς, § 81) + στᾱ. 2). OIr. (*h*)iress 'glaube', from \*parei-sesta (so Fick-Stokes<sup>4</sup>, p. 36). 3). OIr. *eross* 'puppis' from *parei-sosto-* (ib. p. 37). 4). OIr. *eross* 'height' from *pero(s)-stu-* (ib. p. 37). 5). Lith. *aik-sztis* 'campus' (*aik* : Lat. *aequos*?), *aik-sztas* 'spatiosus'. 6). Lith. *eiga-stis* 'gait' : *eigà* 'walk'. 7). Lith. *ap-stūs* 'abundant', quasi 'ope-stans' (§ 81). 8). Lith. *puiký-stė* 'splendor', abstract to *puikūs* 'splendens'. Certainly we should expect, mingled with the abstracts in -ti-, forms in *st(h)i-* (cf. Lith. *auge(s)stis* 'growth' : Lat. *augustus* in AJPh. 31, 417), as explained in § 7 fn. In gradation with *augestis* we have Goth. *wah(s)-stus* 'growth', whence Eng. *waist*, a part of the body.

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